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ABSTRACT

Two rural villages with similar characteristics were selected in Punjab (northern India) in order to study attitudes towards planned socio-economic development programs. All household heads (married males) in Bhagpura (123) and Khaira Bet (116) were interviewed: other data were derived separately. Program acceptance (modernism) in both villages correlated very highly with the respondants' psycho-social modernism, mass-media participation, and extra-community contacts. Khaira Bet (more remote in terms of road links and transportation facilities) reflected more conservatism in all areas, particularly formal and family education, civic/political participation, level of living, village leadership status, landowner status, and occupational status. An unanticipated finding was that caste was not a significant predictor of program approval. Age reflected a predictable conservatism and had a negative correlation of -.72 in both villages. Since exposure to mass media and extra-community activities was significant in acceptance of socio-economic development programs, development and extension agencies should find support for rural development programs among villagers who have already been exposed to external ideas and behavioral patterns: agencies should also design extra-community social contacts, formal education, and mass-media and civic/political participation of villagers in order to aid development efforts. (BP)

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MODERNISM AND PLANNED DEVELOPMENT: A STUDY OF TWO PUNJABI VILLAGES IN INDIA

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ABSTRACT

The focus of the present study was on the association between modernism and planned development in psycho-social terms. The objectives were to study the relationship between psycho-social modernism and attitudes toward programs for planned socio-economic development and to identify whether or not psycho-social modernism and attitudes toward the planned developmental programs shared some common predictors. Some other related objectives were to point out the consequences of the findings in the light of the planned developmental efforts in the Indian villages and the consequent measures which could be adopted to promote the rural developmental programs. The study was conducted in two purposely selected villages in the north part of India. Several controls, however, were applied in the selection to enhance the comparability of the data and to test the impact of urban influences on the attitudes toward the planned developmental programs in a general way. The data were collected through a field survey administering an interview schedule to 239 respondents. The correlation and regression analysis techniques were employed to analyze the data. The findings with regard to the objectives of the study have been presented and some measures have been suggested for promoting the rural developmental programs in India. The study also appeared to raise a question whether or not the selected variables could predict attitudes toward the planned developmental programs in traditional as well as modern situations with the same predictive efficiency.

Scientific interest in the area of societal change appears to be as old as the modern social thought. But, in the last thirty years or so, the interest has acquired a new focus and a new purpose in recognition of the increasing economic and socio-political problems of the Third World nations. The major question which is being asked at present is not how and why societies change, but how can they change in some desired directions. An important objective of this new research emphasis is to help the developing societies acquire better living conditions through the achievement of their established goals of socio-economic development.

The states of traditionalism and modernism have been suggested to be associated with different sets of psychological orientations and behavioral patterns (Rohden 1935; Kallen 1935). Since appropriate attitudes and behavioral patterns within the societies have been considered to be of central importance in the successful implementation of the programs for planned development, occurrence of either of the states may have some important consequences for the developmental efforts. A need, therefore, appears to exist for a careful evaluation of the states of traditionalism and modernism within the socieites. An evaluation should also be made of the implications of the states for the planned developmental efforts and the consequent measures which could be adopted to facilitate the achievement of the established goals of socio-economic development.

In recent years, a considerable amount of research literature has been produced in the area (see Spitz 1969; Brode 1970). However, sufficient knowledge is still not there regarding the content of traditionalism and

modernism in cross-cultural situations, the factors which produce the traditional and modern states and the implication of the states for the attitudes, values and behavioral patterns of the people. Much less is particularly known regarding the nature of the relationship between traditionalism and modernism within the societies and the efforts of the societies for planned socio-economic development. Since these are some of the crucial issues affecting the developmental efforts of numerous societies in the Third World, their further analysis appears to be badly needed.

The Theoretical Background

An association between psychological orientations and societal development in general has been suggested in the literature for a long time. It can be noticed in the writings of Max Weber (see Parsons 1958) and later in the works of Parsons (1951), Lerner (1958), Hoselitz (1960, 1964), McClelland (1961), Hagen (1962), Apter (1965, 1968), Bellah (1965), Bendix (1966, 1967), Atkinson and Feather (1966), Gusfield (1967), Peshkin and Cohen (1967), Rudolph and Rudolph (1967), Le Vine (1968), Kahl (1968), Eisenstadt (1968), Weintraub (1968, 1972), McClelland and Winter (1969), Inkeles (1969), Horowitz (1970), Portes (1973) and Inkeles and Smith (1974). Weber had suggested that development of the protestant ethic was the principal cause for the rise of the spirit of capitalism in the eighteenth century western Europe; the view which has been challenged by authors like Samuelsson (see French 1961) and Robertson (1933) and defended by others like Bendix (1962), Nelson (1964), Aron (see Howard and Weaver 1967) and Freund (1968). Hagen (1962) and others have suggested that the principal causal factor

responsible for economic development in the societies is the entrepreneurial attitude. McClelland (1961) and his associates, similarly, have suggested that economic development at any place and any time is caused by a preceding spread of the need for achievement. The current association between modernism and socio-economic development which is being suggested at present appears to fall in the same general tradition.

It can be noticed that modernism has invariably been given in the literature a positive connotation and it has been advocated as a favorable force for the socio-economic development. Modernism, therefore, has often been recommended as an asset for the Third World nations which is desirable and necessary for their planned developmental efforts (Lerner 1958; Peshkin and Cohen 1967; Kahl 1968; Inkeles and Smith 1974). Traditionalism, on the other hand, has generally been given a negative connotation in the literature and it has been considered as an impediment to the planned developmental efforts. Several other researchers have tried to point out that such a suggested relationship between traditionalism/modernism and socio-economic development could be misleading since traditionalism and past traditions are not always inimical to the planned developmental efforts and nor are they completely undesirable in the societies (Gusfield 1967; Sen 1968; Weintraub 1968, 1972; Galjart 1971; Portes 1973; Sharma 1977). In the nation-building process, for example, both traditionalism and modernism have been suggested to play an important role since they serve as some of the key factors for the formation of the developmental goals and ideologies. They also serve as the basis for the formation and continuation of the development-related social movements within the societies (Gusfield 1967; Weintraub 1972).

Traditionalisms and past traditions, therefore, may support and even promote the developmental efforts in some cases. In some cases, however, they may work against such efforts. Modernism, similarly, may not act as a favorable force for the developmental efforts under all circumstances. Modernism, for example, is not likely to be a favorable force for the developmental efforts if it occurs prematurely, under the conditions of excessive underdevelopment, or when there are not enough provisions for its conversion into developmental entrepreneurship (Portes 1973; Chodak 1973).

In overall terms, however, the traditionalistic states appear to set up a thesis of the primacy of the past traditions and of the existing socio-cultural order. The modernistic states, on the other hand, are relatively more flexible and they would take the older as well as the existing socio-cultural order as manipulable in case of the upcoming exigencies of the present and the future (Rohden 1935; Kallen 1935). The principal orientation in the case of traditionalism, therefore, is one of adhering to the past traditions, preserving the existing socio-cultural order and resisting the change forces. In the case of modernism, the principal orientation would be to plan for the present and the future in a rational way "by subordinating the traditional to the novel and the established and customary to the exigencies of the recent and innovating" (Kallen 1935). It would, therefore, appear that a general tendency (at least an initial one) in the case of an overall traditionalism profile would be one of skepticism about the planned developmental programs and even resisting such efforts. In the case of an overall modernism profile,

an initial tendency would be to be open about the planned change efforts and if possible, to give the efforts at least an initial trial (see Dube 1958; Lionberger 1960; Rogers 1962; Banerji 1971; Gifft, Washbon and Harrison 1972; Whyte 1974).

Beyond this, the relationship between traditionalism/modernism and socio-economic development appears to be extremely complex and it would depend partly upon: 1) the past traditions, 2) the existing socio-cultural context, 3) the current needs of the people, 4) the nature, content, scope, centrality and legitimation of the developmental programs, and 5) the kind of psychological environment in which the programs are initiated and implemented. Traditionalism, for example, is much less likely to be an impediment to the planned developmental efforts if such efforts are relatively small in magnitude, narrow in scope and if they do not affect the existing socio-cultural order very significantly on salient points. Similarly, traditionalism is less likely to be a barrier to the planned developmental efforts if the planned programs are designed in such a way so as to be consistent with the felt-needs of the people. Traditionalism would be particularly less hostile to the planned developmental efforts if the planned programs are envisioned and implemented within the legitimizing boundaries of the existing traditionalism within the societies (Gusfield 1967; Weintraub 1972).

Traditionalism, thus, is not an attitude of complete rejection of all kinds of developmental efforts, as modernism is not an attitude of outright acceptance of such efforts. In the case of the developmental efforts of any society, both traditionalism and modernism play an important role and they help and guide the establishment of the developmental

ideologies, policies and goals. In the process of socio-economics development, traditionalism has its further utility as one of the bases for the legitimation and inner justification of the established developmental policies and goals. Modernism, similarly, has its further utility as a basis for the formation of new developmental directions and aspirations. Accordingly, the seeking of a compromise between the existing traditionalism and modernism appears to be important to all the societies and they keep on operating between the desire to be modern and the desire to preserve the past traditions (Gusfield 1967). In several important ways, therefore, traditionalism instead of acting as an intervening factor between the society and its planned developmental goals, acts as one of the significant determinants of such efforts (Weintraub 1972). For the same reason, traditionalism also determines partly which of the developmental efforts would be accepted by the members of a society and which of the efforts would be opposed and rejected (Gusfield 1967; Rudolph and Rudolph 1967; Le Vine 1968; Weintraub 1972; Chodak 1973).

In general, the above cited observations would hold good in case of almost all the societies. However, the exact nature of the relationship between traditionalism/modernism and planned socio-economic development would still differ according to the contexts of time, locale, history, culture, past traditions and other structural and socio-cultural features of the societies. The relationship would also differ according to the analytical level of traditionalism/modernism which is under consideration and the particular aspect of the socio-economic development under focus (Eisenstadt 1966; Gusfield 1967; Bendix 1967; Stephenson 1968; Weinberg 1968; Sen 1968; Clignet and Sween 1969; Portes 1973; Sharma 1977).

The Present Study

Depending upon the context, therefore, there appear to be numerous possibilities of the relationship between traditionalism/modernism and planned socio-economic development; the possibilities about which very little is known at the present time. This is particularly true of the rural populations around the world where enough exploration of the relationship has not yet been done. A need, therefore, appears to exist for a further exploration of the relationship in as many diverse conditions as possible. This need is particularly crucial in case of the developing societies in the Third World since in their case an adequate knowledge of the relationship is likely to be most consequential. A further exploration of the relationship also appears to be necessitated by the fact that both traditionalism/modernism and planned socio-economic development are culturally-conditioned and multidimensional phenomena.

The focus in case of the present paper was on the association between modernism and planned development in psycho-social terms. The objectives were to study the relationship between psycho-social modernism and attitudes toward programs for planned socio-economic development and to identify whether or not psycho-social modernism and attitudes toward planned socio-economic development had some common predictors. The other related objectives were to point out the consequences of the findings in the light of the planned developmental efforts in the Indian villages and the consequent measures which could be adopted to promote the rural developmental programs in India.

The paper is based on the findings of a larger study.

The Villages

The study was conducted in Khaira Bet and Bhagpura villages in the Punjab State of India. The villages were selected purposely. Several controls, however, were applied in the selection in order to enhance the comparability of the data. Another objective in applying the controls was to determine in a general way the effect of communicative proximity to the urban centers on village modernism and attitudes toward programs for planned socio-economic development. The villages, therefore, were similar in several respects. They were located in the same Punjabi-speaking region, shared the same sub-culture (Malva) and were from the same development block (Manghat). The villages were further similar with regard to the rural setting, size, agri-based economy, multi-caste structure, predominance of the Sikh population and physical distance from the nearby urban centers. The two villages, however, differed with regard to the communicative proximity to the nearby towns and cities (in terms of road links and transportation facilities). Bhagpura, in this respect, was communicatively closer to the urban centers. Khaira Bet, on the other hand, was relatively farther from the urban centers.

The Variables and the Data

The selected independent variables were at three levels.[1] At the village level, the degree of communicative proximity of a village to the urban centers. At the family level, income, formal education, civic/political participation and level of living of the family. At the individual level, caste, age, land ownership, occupational status, formal education, extra-community contacts, village leadership status, mass-media participation, civic/political participation and psycho-social modernism of the individual. Sex and marital status were the other significant independent variables which could be considered. These variables, however, were not included

in the theoretical framework since all the selected respondents in the study were males and married persons. The dependent variable in the study was the attitudes toward programs for planned socio-economic development.

The focus of the study was at the individual level. The data were collected through a field survey administering an interview schedule to the respondents. The head of the household was the respondent and the unit of analysis. The study covered the total population of the household-heads in the respective villages, 123 in Khaira Bet and 116 in Bhagpura.

Some other data were derived separately through a ranking procedure (see Sharma 1974). Examples of such data were caste status ranking, occupational prestige ranking and leadership status in the villages.

Psycho-social modernism and attitudes toward programs for planned socio-economic development were treated as multidimensional context-specific phenomena and they were measured separately with two Likert-type attitudinal scales. Validity and reliability of the scales were determined through the use of judges and by subjecting the scales to internal consistency item analysis. The final measure of validity applied to the scales was of independent criteria of education (Inkeles 1969; Schnaiberg 1970; Armer and Youtz 1971).

The data for the two villages were analyzed separately employing primarily the correlation and regression analysis techniques.

The Findings

Since psycho-social modernism and attitudes toward programs for planned socio-economic development were both context-specific attitudinal states, a very high association was expected between the two variables in overall terms.

For the same reason, it was also expected that the selected independent variables would correlate with the two dependent variables in a similar manner and that the two variables would share some common predictors.

The findings from the study have been reported partly in Sharma (1978). It was revealed there that communicative proximity of a village to the urban centers could be taken as a general predictor of the psycho-social modernism. The greater the communicative proximity to the urban centers, the greater the psycho-social modernism could be expected within the village. The data had also revealed there that the other significant predictors of the psycho-social modernism were mass-media participation, extra-community contacts, age, formal edcuation, civic/political participation and occupational status of the respondent and civic/political participation and level of living of the respondent's family. Of those, mass-media participation and extra-community contacts of the respondent could be considered as excellent predictors. Age, formal education, civic/political participation of the respondent and civic/political participation of the respondent's family could be regarded as good predictors. Level of living of the respondent's family and occupational status of the respondent could be regarded as moderately good predictors.[2]

In case of the present study, the data revealed that the manner of association of the selected variables with the attidues toward programs for planned socio-economic development was generally the same as previously with the dependent variable psycho-social modernism. The direction of association and relative magnitudes of the correlation coefficients were also very similar.

The Communicative Proximity

The data revealed that on a 0-40 scale[3], the mean score for the attitudes toward programs for planned socio-economic development was 34.10 in the case of Bhagpura. In the case of Khaira Bet, the score was 25.81 on the same scale. The difference between the scores was significant statistically. It appeared, therefore, that communicative proximity of a village to the urban centers was a factor for the attitudes toward programs for planned socio-economic development. The finding has been presented in another manner in Table 1.

Table 1

Attitudes toward Programs for Planned Socio-Economic Development in the Two Villages

	Bhagpura (N=116)	Khaira Bet (N=123)
Attitudes toward Programs for Planned Socio-Economic Development	% of the Respondents	% of the Respondents
Very Positive (33-40 scores)	20.7	0.0
Positive (25-32 scores)	37.1	2.4
Neutral (17-24 scores)	16.4	16.3
Negative (9-16 scores)	13.8	30.9
Very Negative (0-8 scores)	12.0	50.4

Table 1 reveals that there was a considerable difference in the attitudes toward programs for planned socio-economic development in the two villages. The attitudes were significantly more positive in Bhagpura as compared to the attitudes in Khaira Bet. This difference in the attitudes was

partly attributable to the differential urban influences received by the respondents in the two villages. Partly, the difference could also be due to some other factors, like the felt-needs of the people, the specific nature and content of the developmental programs and other psychological and socio-cultural differences in the villages.

The Other Correlates

In case of the other selected variables, only age was expected to correlate negatively with the attitudes toward programs for planned socio-economic development. All the other variables were expected to correlate with the dependent variable in the positive direction. The results of the correlation analysis have been presented in Table 2.

Table 2

Correlates of Attitudes toward Programs for Planned Socio-Economic Development in the Two Villages

	Bhagpura	Khaira Bet
The Variables	Correlation Coefficient	Correlation Coefficient
Very Highly Correlated		
Psycho-Social Modernism of R	.97	.94
Mass-Media Participation of R	.97	.93
Extra-community Contacts of R	.96	.90
Highly Correlated		
Formal Education of R	.75	.58
Age of R	-.72	-.72
Civic/Political Participation of R's Family	.64	.37
Level of Living of R's Family	.64	.32
Moderately Correlated		
Civic/Political Participation of R	.56	.23
Occupational Status of R	.41	.21
Lowly Correlated		
Village Leadership Status of R	.29	.05
Landownership Status of R	.14	.24
Income of R's Family	.15	.19
Education of R's Family	.20	.07
Very Lowly Correlated		
Caste Status of R	.10	.02

Table 2 reveals that the correlation coefficients of all the selected variables were in the expected direction. Only age was negatively correlating with the dependent variable. All the other variables were correlating with the dependent variable in the positive direction.

The variables which were most highly correlated with the dependent variable were psycho-social modernism, mass-media participation and extra-community contacts of the respondent. The correlation coefficients in case of each of these variables were extremely high in both the villages and it appeared that given the knowledge of any of these variables, the attitudes toward programs for planned socio-economic development could be predicted with a fairly high degree of accuracy.

The other variables which were highly correlated with the dependent variable were formal education and age of the respondent and civic/political participation and level of living of the respondent's family. Of these, formal education of the respondent and civic/political participation and level of living of the respondent's family correlated with the dependent variable more highly in Bhagpura than in Khaira Bet. In the case of age, the correlation coefficients were the same in the two villages.

In the order of decreasing size of the correlation coefficients, civic/political participation and occupational status of the respondent were the next variables. These variables also tended to correlate with the dependent variable more highly in Bhagpura than in Khaira Bet.

In case of all the above cited variables, the correlation coefficients were significant statistically and the direction as well as the general pattern of the association was in accordance with the theoretical expectations.

All these variables, therefore, could be taken as the predictors of the attitudes toward programs for planned socio-economic development. The relative sizes of the correlation coefficients in the two villages, however, indicated that with the exception of age, all the other selected variables were better predictors of the dependent variable in Bhagpura than in Kharia Bet.

In case of the rest of the variables, either the sizes of the correlation coefficients were too small, or the pattern of the association was not consistent in the two villages. These variables, therefore, could not be regarded as significant predictors of the dependent variable. Among these variables were caste, landownership and leadership status of the respondent and educational level and income of the respondent's family.

The Predictors

In the light of the earlier discussion, the communicative proximity of a village to the urban centers could be used as a general predictor of the attitudes toward programs for planned socio-economic development. An accurate prediction of the attitudes, however, was much more complex and it required the consideration of several other factors, like the past traditions, the current socio-cultural context, the felt-needs of the people, the nature, context, scope, centrality and legitimation of the developmental programs and the psychological environment in which the programs were initiated and implemented.

The other extremely good predictors of the attitudes toward programs for planned socio-economic development were psycho-social modernism, mass-media participation and extra-community contacts of the respondent. On an average, psycho-social modernism explained 91.95 percent of the

variance in the dependent variable. Mass-media participation explained 90.75 percent of the variance and extra-community contacts explained 85.90 percent of the variance in the dependent variable. The predictive power of these variables was relatively more in Bhagpura than in Khaira Bet. This pattern of the differential predictive power of the variables in the two villages existed in case of the remaining identified significant predictors as well.

In the order of decreasing predictive power, formal education and age of the respondent were the next predictors of the dependent variable. In the absence of psycho-social modernism, mass-media participation and extra-community contacts of the respondent, these variables explained a total of 74.2 percent of the variance in the dependent variable. Formal education was a better predictor of the dependent variable in Bhagpura. Age, on the other hand, was a slightly better predictor of the dependent variable in Khaira Bet.

The other significant predictors of the attitudes toward programs for planned socio-economic development were civic/political participation and level of living of the respondent's family and landownership, civic/political participation and occupational status of the respondent. In the case of Bhagpura, these variables explained a total of 9.3 percent additional variance in the dependent variable. In the case of Khaira Bet, the additional variance explained in the dependent variable was 7.6 percent.

In view of the above cited findings, therefore, psycho-social modernism, mass-media participation and extra-community contacts of the respondent were excellent predictors of the attitudes toward programs for planned socio-economic development. Formal education and age of the respondent were

very good predictors. Civic/political participation and level of living of the respondent's family and civic/political participation of the respondent could be considered as good predictors. Landownership and occupational status of the respondent could be considered as moderately good predictors.

The Conclusions

The study revealed that the manner of association of all the selected variables with the attitudes toward programs for planned socio-economic development was generally the same as previously with the dependent variable psycho-social modernism (see Sharma 1978). The direction of association and relative magnitudes of the correlation coefficients were also quite similar. As expected, therefore, an extremely high association existed between psycho-social modernism and the attitudes toward programs for planned socio-economic development. In this case also, only age was correlating negatively with the dependent variable. All the other variables were correlating with the dependent variable in the positive direction.

The study also revealed that the communicative proximity of a village to the urban centers could be taken as a general predictor of the attitudes toward programs for planned socio-economic development. The greater the communicative proximity, the more positive the attitudes could be expected toward the planned developmental programs. It, however, needed to be remembered that attitudes toward the planned developmental programs were complex in origin and in manifestations and an accurate prediction of the attitudes required the consideration of several other factors. Examples

of such factors were the past traditions, the current socio-cultural context, the felt-needs of the people, the nature, content, scope, centrality and legitimation of the developmental programs and the psychological environment in which the programs were initiated and implemented.

The other identified predictors of the attitudes toward programs for planned socio-economic development were psycho-social modernism, mass-media participation, civic/political participation, extra-community contacts, age, formal education, landownership and occupational status of the respondent and level of living and civic/political participation of the respondent's family. Of these, psycho-social modernism, mass-media participation and extra-community contacts of the respondent could be considered as excellent predictors. Given the knowledge of any of these variables, the dependent variable could be predicted with a fairly high degree of accuracy. Formal education and age of the respondent were the next best predictors of the dependent variable and for the purpose of relative rating, they could be considered as very good. Following the same order of rating, level of living and civic/political participation of the respondent's family and civic/political participation of the respondent could be regarded as good predictors. Landownership and occupational status of the respondent could be regarded as moderately good predictors. Caste and village leadership status of the respondent as well as educational level and income of the respondent's family did not turn out to be significant predictors of the dependent variable.[4]

In general, all of the above findings appeared to be consistent with the theoretical expectations. Probably, the most surprising finding was

that caste of the respondent did not turn out to be a significant predictor of his attitudes toward programs for planned socio-economic development. Since all the identified predictors tended to predict the dependent variable relatively better in Bhagpura, the question appeared to remain open whether or not the selected variables could predict the attitudes toward programs for planned socio-economic development in traditional as well as modern situation with the same predictive efficiency.

In terms of the practical implications of the findings, the very high positive association between psycho-social modernism and the attitudes toward programs for planned socio-economic development suggested that traditionalism and modernism in the Indian villages had considerable consequences for the rural developmental programs. In a general way, psycho-social modernism appeared to be helpful for the planned developmental efforts. Psycho-social traditionalism, on the other hand, appeared to hinder such efforts.

Since direct and indirect exposures to mass-media and extra-community situations were significant in the explanation of positive attitudes toward programs for planned socio-economic development, the development and extension agencies should find support for the rural developmental programs among those villagers who have had considerable exposure to external ideas and behavioral patterns. Programs designed for the expansion of extra-community social contacts, formal education, mass-media participation and civic/political participation of the villagers should also help the planned developmental efforts.

NOTES

1. The selection and operationalization of the variables may be noticed in Sharma (1978).
2. It was interesting to note that caste of the respondent was not a significant predictor of his psycho-social modernism (see Sharma 1978).
3. The higher the score, the more positive were the attitudes toward programs for planned socio-economic development.
4. It is worth noting that the important predictors of psycho-social modernism were basically the same as currently in case of the attitudes toward programs for planned socio-economic development. The direction of prediction and relative predictive power of the variables were also very similar (see Sharma 1978).

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